2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



415 (Fig. 21, *c*), about 70 centimeters deep and 90 centimeters in
417 diameter, the edges of which are sewn to a wooden pole bent into a circle. Three other poles curved in the form of semicircles and with their ends tied to the wooden circle, *ḥanijje* (pl., *ḥanâja*), surround the leather bowl, while three or four forked poles, *ḥarûr* (pl., *ḥwâṛir*), 90 centimeters high, support the circle and hold the trough above the ground. The water is poured from a leather bucket, *delw* (Fig. 23). This is a small receptacle about 40 centimeters in diameter and 30 to 50 centimeters in depth. It is sewn to a circular wooden frame to which, by means of straps, *wḏime* (pl., *wuḏum*) (Fig. 23, *b*), are fastened two wooden crosspieces, *'arḳa* (pl., *'arâḳi*) (*a*). At the point where they cross a small rope, *rša* (*c*), is attached to them, and by means of this rope the bucket is lowered into the well.

354 By the fireplace in the women's compartment there lies
252 a *ṣâj*, or convex sheet of iron, 60 centimeters in diameter, upon which the bread is baked. From the main pole there hangs a large straw hutch, *minsâf*, upon which the kneaded bread is placed.

## USE AND TRANSPORTATION OF TENTS

484 During long marches in the summer season the tents are
342 not pitched. The adults lie down beneath the open sky, and a small tent, *ṭuzz* (Fig. 24), for the children only, is sometimes set up. This tent has a single pole about 1.2 meters high and measures about 4 meters long and 2 meters broad. A *ṭuzz* tent also has to satisfy the poorest inhabitants of the camp, who do not belong to the Rwala.

A tent with no main pole, but resting on four corner poles so that from the front only two poles of equal height are to be seen, is called a *ḫarbûš*. It is 4 to 6 meters long, 2 meters high, and 2.5 to 3 meters broad.

The usual tent has at least one main pole and is called *ḳaṭba*. It is 12 meters long, over 2 meters high, and 3.5 meters broad. A tent with two main poles is called *bejt ḳarnên*, or *mdawbel*; one with three poles is called *meṯawleṯ*; with four, *mrawba'*; with five, *mḫawmas*; with seven, *sab'a wsaṭ*.

If the chief does not intend to remain in the camping place more than two or three nights, he does not pitch a

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



whole tent in the interior of the desert where there are few guests, but only a part of it; this is known as *afiaf*. 484 342

The tent is always pitched according to the direction of the wind. The long side facing the wind is completely closed and is called *ḳufa'-l-bejt*. The opposite long side is open and is called *waǧh al-bejt*. The short sides are regularly closed and are known as *ḳuär al-bejt*.

If the tent rope gets slack, *aṭ-ṭoneb ḥala'* (or *inḳala'*), the occupants of the tent tighten it, *jekarrebúneh*.

A guest who wishes to spend the night in a tent always halts his camels by the side wall of the men's compartment, never by the women's compartment, *muḥarram*. If the wind is blowing against the open front side, the owner of the tent shouts: "Change the back wall! *ḥabbelū al-bejt ǧāna-l-ḥawa*." The women or the slaves at once unfasten the *ruwāḳ*, throw down the front poles, fix the *ruwāḳ* in their place, and insert the front poles where the *ruwāḳ* had previously hung. [574]

If it is very hot and there is no wind, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take away the *ruwāḳ*! *ḥarre'ū al-bejt*." The women unfasten the *ruwāḳ*, roll it up, place it in a corner, and insert the poles beneath the front and back ropes, *ḥdēn w-riglēn*, by which the side walls, *ruffa*, are raised at each corner. Thus the tent is open on all sides and the air can circulate freely. During the heat it is best to sleep with the side wall raised up, as this can then move freely and fan the sleeper. In the cold season a wall is suspended on the front side also, so that the tent is completely closed in, *muḥaǧǧar*. 342 354

By the side wall of the women's compartment sleeps the household dog. There is perhaps not a single tent among the Rwala which does not contain at least one watchdog. These dogs are strong, thick-set animals with short, shaggy hair and broad heads. In the opinion of the Rwala they are unclean, *má ḥawa anǧas min al-ḥalb*, and therefore they must not eat from any vessel intended for food or cooking. Generally a morsel of food, *'eǰé*, is thrown to them on the ground, or sour milk is poured out for them into an upturned sheet of iron used for baking bread, *ṣāǰ*. The dogs guard the camels and the tent, not only against various beasts of prey, but also against thieves who creep into the encampmemt during the night to steal an animal or something from the tent. Woe to the guest who is compelled to leave the tent several times during the 231 [825]

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231 night! They would tear him to pieces were he to go out unaccompanied by the master or someone they know.

342 If the camp is to be moved and the tents struck, the
484 mistress of the tent issues the order: "Take out the tent pegs,
492 *emmuw* (or *emṭa'ú*) *al-wtad*." The tent falls down. "Take out the tent poles, *ḥuṭṭú al-'umed*; spread the tent out, *eṭfeṭú al-bejt*; fold it lengthwise, so that it forms a strip [about one meter broad], *eṭarú al-bejt*." With the large tents the ropes, which are as long as thirty meters, are unfastened and tied up separately, but with smaller tents they are laid inside. The tent, folded up to a breadth of one meter, is rolled up symmetrically from both ends, making two bundles. When these have been rolled, *dawṭow*, to within two meters of each other, a tent pole is placed across beneath each bundle, which is then rolled once more, so that the poles are on top; the *ḥabl* rope is wound round one bundle, passed over, and wound round the other. A strong camel with a *mesdewe* saddle is now brought up and made to kneel down, *nawwaḥow al-ba'ír*, and the women or the slaves seize both poles, lift the two bundles of the tent, load them on the camel, make sure that the tent has been loaded quite symmetrically, take the weight of the bundles so that the camel can stand up, *ḥawwarow al-ba'ír*, and set out on the march (Figs. 25, 26). The tent poles and ropes are loaded upon the *ḥiadib* saddle (Fig. 27), which is provided on both sides, in front and behind, with strong pegs, upon which the poles are supported.

484 The troops of camels carrying the property of the in-
492 dividual families are called *meṣḥár* (pl., *meṣḥár*) (Figs. 28–31). At the head the chief always rides with his picked warriors, *seif*. The warriors ride on camels, but saddled mares are led to the camels or are ridden by boys. If the guard reports the presence of an enemy, the warriors jump from the camels on to the mares, and set off in pursuit. An ordinary march, *raḥala*, lasts from eight or nine in the morning till two or three in the afternoon; a forced march, *raḥala ḥajjede*, from the rising to the setting of the sun.

### CAMPING GROUNDS

484 The camping place is always selected by the chief. His tent
622 is pitched at the spot where he halts his camel and throws down his saddle. Around him are grouped his slaves and his

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kinsfolk. The remainder assemble together likewise according to kinship. The camping place is called *mawṣil*. The chief leaves the camping place last, rides ahead of all the others, and is the first in the new camping place. The herds are brought

FIG. 13—*Ṭeleb* litters.

to a standstill, and the herdsmen are told to let the camels have their evening pasture, *ma'ṣṣôse*.

The Rwala do not pitch camps in the shape of an ellipse as do some other tribes. Each one may pitch his tent where he likes, for his tribe is strong and can withstand any enemy. A camp with less than ten tents is called *ferîj*, one with more than ten but less than thirty tents, *nefe'*, and one with more than thirty, *mesel*.

Before changing camps the chief sends out one or two men, usually of the Ṣlejb tribe, to inspect the pastures and watering places in the region where he would like to encamp. The phrase is: "He has sent some one of his men to inspect the region, *ḥallaṭ leh ḥallîṭen min rilmeh*."

If there is an abundance of rain, the Rwala are fond of encamping in definite areas during the various seasons. The best winter pastures, *mešâtu* (pl., *mešâtî*), are found in the environs of al-Ḥôr, of the Ḥabra 'Anka, as well as of Ṭâha. If

2:Musil S-4, 5 (s = date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



someone asks the Rwala: "Where did you graze this winter? *wên ḳattejtu has-sene*," he regularly receives the answer: "Our winter pasture was in al-Ḥôr, *maštâna bel-ḥôr*." In the spring they prefer most of all to graze, *marba'* (plural, *marâbi'*), in al-Ǧûba and on the northern border of the Nefûd, *rabba'na bil-ǧûba*. In the region of al-Bijâẓ between al-Ǧûba, Tell 'Amûd, and the volcanic territory they find their pastures in the season of *ṣejf*, that is from about the middle of April to the middle of June, *maṣjaf*, whereas from the end of June to the end of August they graze, *maḳîẓ*, in the territory of an-Nuḳra south of Damascus. In the autumn their favorite resort, *maṣfar*, is in the environs of the Sirḥân depression. If there has been no rain in al-Ḥamâd and al-Wudîjân, they make their way to the environs of Tejma or to the eastern border of the Nefûd, where it rains more regularly.

FIG. 19—*Ẓirbe neǧdijje*, goatskin water container.

A camping place in a dangerous region exposed to raids is called *ṣâḳa*. The greatest danger threatens the tents which are pitched on the edge of the camp, *ṭwâref*.

Years afterwards it is still possible to recognize an old camping place, *marḥ al-'arab*. The fireplace hollowed out in the men's compartment; the small piles of clay and ashes; the three scorched stones by the fireplace of the women's compartment; the piles of stones or fuel, upon which the beds were laid; camel excrements, *dimne* (pl., *demân*); luxuriant annuals, which the camels avoid, as they grow on the *demân*; all this awakens memories in the mind of the solitary traveler.

### *Poems Relating to Camping Grounds*

The Rwala have many songs in which the solitary wayfarer speaks to the old camping place.

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6. Ah, sweet is their parade, when they ride before their chief shouting the war cry,
'Arfa and Sbê'i, when none hastens to their help.
7. They became our enemies, and we became their adversaries,
And I think that I shall not return after the parting.

A poet of the Sba'a tribe encamping with a kin of the Rwala numbering less than thirty tents fell in love with a Rwala woman. After a short time war broke out between the Sba'a and the Rwala, and the Sbê'i returned to his own people. During the campaign, on riding across the previous camping place, he put his memories into this poem, which I heard from my companion Blejhân eben Meṣreb.

Verse 1. The *ženn* are low rectangular litters for women and children. The *neğe'* is a camp numbering less than thirty tents. 2. *Žedwa* is a track. *As-salaf jeżeddi al-meẓâhir*: the warriors on horses and camels indicate and prepare the way for the camels carrying the tents and supplies. 3. *Ahl ar-rbâ'* are the owners of the tents with a special compartment for the men. In the smaller tents there is only a corner reserved for the men, while the large tents are cut by a dividing partition into compartments for the men (visitors and guests) and for the women. 5. *Ji'âležen al-'anne*: in their high spirits they chew or champ the bit. *Zowm* means strength or endurance. The riders are so drunken with the lust of war that their mares by their neighing remind them to pay heed. 6. *'Arfa* means a row of warriors riding in front of the chief and shouting the battle cry, *naḫâwa*, which among the Sba'a is: *"Ḥajjâl al-'arfa sbê'i*, the rider protecting the 'Arfa is a Sbê'i." A Sbê'i is a member of the tribe of the Sba'a, who call their herds 'Arfa.

1. *Aôči ḥali jâ nâs mâni bmaljûm*
*w-aponn min jaôči ḥaleḥ mâ jiljâmi*
2. *ǧit al-mrâḥ w-ṣâr bel-ḫalb maʿ'ûm*
*maḥâzel al-ǧullân ḥom w-al-'amâmi*
3. *ḥâḍa meḥabb an-nâr w-al-ḥafr maṭlûm*
*marka' dlâlen mut'abâten aš-šwâmi*
4. *w-ḥâḍi merâbaṭ ǧeflahom dâǧmen dûm*
*ḫoḫb al-'ujûn mrowba'ât al-ḫwâmi*

[539x] [492] [484] [592] [152] [726]

252 60 centimeters in diameter, turns it over on three stones above a fire, with a quick movement lays the cake on the convex side, and takes care that it does not burn. A cake of this kind is called *raṛîf*; if it is as thin as paper it is called *rahîf*; and if it is thick, *ǧerîm*.

For breakfast they sometimes prepare a thin batter for the guests, and this is poured into the concave side of the *sâǧ* and baked. This bread, called *maṣli*, when fresh tastes almost like our pancakes.

If bread is to be baked quickly, they knead one large cake from the dough, place it on the hot ashes, cover it with them, and light another fire above the ashes. It is turned once or twice and called *ǧamrijje*.

262 252 Leavened bread is eaten only in the cold season. They prepare the loaf in the evening, add a piece of yeast, *ḫâmer*, to the dough, and bake the bread in the morning. The Rwala prefer unleavened bread, *faṭîr*. They like to have the bread always fresh, *ǧedîd*. Bread of yesterday's baking, *bâjet*, must not be given to guests.

In the season of abundance, *rabî'*, they do not bake bread at all, and at other times seldom and usually only for guests. In two-thirds of the tents bread is not baked all the year round, and many of the women taste it only once or twice throughout their lives. They have an expression of praise: "This is the tent of bread; here bread is baked. So and So is very rich and bountiful; he has bread, he is the master of bread, *râ'i-l-ḫubez*."

In addition to milk the Rwala live mostly on *'ejš*. This is boiled from crushed wheat or wheat pounded in a mill. Among the chiefs the wheat is ground into groats, *ǧeriš*. On the crushed or ground wheat water is poured, salt is added, and it is boiled into a thick paste. If they have enough *leben*, the women pour it upon the *'ejš*, *tebajjeẓ al-'ejš*, making *bejâẓa*. *'Ejš* is prepared almost daily for supper. What is left over is served for next day's luncheon and eaten cold, *beride*.

[484 251] If the Rwala are proceeding on a short journey and know that they will find no tents for two or three days, they roast a little wheat on the *sâǧ*, shake it into a leather sack, and feed on it. This is called *ḫamisa*. As the old men do not have good teeth, instead of roasted wheat grain they take a couple of handfuls of flour and eat this without any preparation. They call it *lehme*.

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*Mâ-rîd ana nâzel aṭ-ṭaffa*
*w-lâ-lli saken 'aḳlat al-wâdi*
*la' mâ ḥala mḳâbel aṣ-ṣaffa*
*w-al-raŝmeri ḳarm al-awlâdi.*

I desire not him who camps on the plateau,
Nor him who lives at the well down the valley.
How sweet is he whose tent is pitched on the opposite side,
For he is the subduer, the flower of all youth.

[484
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It is the maiden's wish that her lover may pitch his tent on the other side of the valley. *Ṭaffa* is a plateau intersected by a deep valley. In a territory where no hostile attack is feared the clansmen pitch their tents where it suits them. Many choose the plateau itself, where their camels can graze freely; others prefer to be near water and therefore pitch their tents near the *'aḳla* well; others again — and these are the most numerous — select some wider and more level part of the channel bank, protected against the wind and sand and where they are also safe from the herds crowding down to the water. The tents are generally pitched in two rows separated by the channel. The sides of these tents as a rule are closed towards the wind, so that it is impossible to look from one into the other. But the women like to lift the canvas in the back of the tent and to peep through the chink at what is going on in the tents on the opposite side. To the last song they add:

*Alli ḏelûleh leha ḥaffa*
*min fowḳeha-l-ḫurǧ w-šdâdi*
*jâ mâ ḥala lam'at ad-daffa'*
*čân al-ṛazi jammana bâdi.*

Whose she-riding-camel is swift as a tempest
With a bag and a saddle on her back.
Oh, how sweet is the glitter of his mantle,
When the desired one rides hither in the evening!

*Ḥaffa* means a gallop as fast as a gale or tempest, an unsurpassed speed, during which the wind resounds in the ears. *Ḫurǧ* is a double bag that can be thrown across the camel saddle and also a smaller bag of the same kind to be put on the horse saddle. A *daffa* is a heavy winter cloak. Men

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD



831* 539* *Ṭâreš* (pl., *ṭrûš* or *ṭuršân*) is a native traveler. *Čeṭṭâ* means a rock or stone that is falling or crumbling to pieces. The maiden's heart dries up or crumbles with passion.

*Min ʿaḏḏar waǧhi elja rommad*
*min baʿadakom jâ-l-kawâčibi*
*w-akfejtu w-slejfakom ʿammad*
*w-ani nahart at-taṛârîbi.*

Who will excuse me if my face is covered with ashes and dust
Because of my parting from you, O you Kwâčbe!
For you have turned back, and a troop of your warriors proceeds on a straight course
While I go to the settled territory.

The maiden is sad because the Kwâčbe, kinsmen of her lover, are going to camp far in the rear, while her relatives [765] have started for Syria. If a woman loses a near relative, she throws dust and ashes on her head and face. The loving maiden would like to do the same but fears to be chidden for it. *Slejf* [484] (dimin. of *salaf*) is the armed troop at the head of the migrating clans, which does not ride now to the right, now to the left in search of good pasture but follows in a straight course *ʿammad*, because the grazing grounds have already been found by men sent out for that purpose and even the camping place has been decided upon. The verb *ṛarrabow* is employed with reference to Bedouins going to the settled territory in whatever direction. The maiden was to camp in Syria, the youth in the inner desert.

*Jâ jumma ǧâni bèlaʾ muḫlef*
*waš ḫileti waš ana sâwi*
*damʿi ʿala waǧneti jaḏref*
*w-aṭneb ṭanîb aššab al-wâwi.*

O little mother of mine! a sorrow has come upon me
What shall I do now? [without warning.
A tear flows down my cheek,
When I dwell in the neighborhood of a wolf howling.

*Ṭanîb* is a neighbor whose tent ropes, *aṭnâb*, touch the tent ropes of another. The maiden or woman has either lost her lover in a fight or he has proved unfaithful. She must

831x
539x

*Zall ar-rabî' w-ḥawdarow lal-ḳejẓ*
*w-al-ṛarw mâ waḳna 'alejh*
*jâ-bu nhûd čannehen al-bejẓ*
*w-al-ḳalb waǧlânen 'alejh.*

Gone is the time of plenty, and they have departed to the pastures of the midsummer;
But the beauty we nowhere saw.
Oh, for her with breasts like eggs!
My heart is grieving for her.

[484 221] In the time of the sultry heats of midsummer, *al-ḳejẓ*, the Bedouins camp in the lowlands, where water is found in abundance; therefore they have descended, *ḥawdarow*, from the plateaus.

*Abṛi ataṛaṭṭa bel-manâm*
*w-al-'ajn mâ hi nâjime*
*'eddi ṣawîben bel-manâm*
*mâ žawwedû ḥazâjimeh.*

I desire to cover myself in my bed,
But my eyes cannot close in sleep;
I feel like one lying wounded on his couch,
Whose bandages they have failed to renew.

[752] *'Eddi* or *čanni* means: "I feel like." *Ṣawîb* signifies to be wounded seriously, but not fatally. *Ḥazâjem* are poultices and bandages. If not applied well and renewed, *mâ žawwedû*, they cause still greater pain.

*Ḳilt a'arẓûni 'ala-z-zarḳa*
*čann-ar-ramad ṣâjeben 'ajni*
*ḥabb al-ṛaṣi bel-ḥaša jarḳa*
*muḫṭar 'ala-l-čabd čâwini*
*wa' šejb 'ajni min al-farḳa*
*čân al-'arab bên šowrîni.*

I said: 'lay me across a gray horse,'
For it seems as if blindness had struck my sight.
Love for the desired one grows in my entrails,
And burns me like red-hot iron laid on the stomach.
Ah, my eyes will become gray from the parting,
If the Arabs take different courses.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



The Arabs are unable to agree as to where they should remove their camp. The lover fears that his sweetheart's kin may encamp in a different locality from his own people and thinks that his eyebrows might become gray and his eyes blind, should he not see his beloved.

*Wa' šejb 'ajni*, "ah, my gray, clouded eye," and *wa' šejb ḳalbi*, "ah, my gray, clouded heart," are sayings used in misfortune.

*Jâ râčeb alli ḏemîlaha zên*
*ḳamran ejdêha šarârijje*
*jâ manweti-lli ḥgleh mežfin*
*w-illa ṛariben naṣa ḥajjeh.*

O thou who ridest a she-camel with good paces,
With bright white forelegs, and of the *šarâri* breed!
O thou desire of mine, whose kin has moved back!
Even if far away, yet thou wilt come near to thy sweetheart's kin.

*Ḏemîl* or *derhem* is the trotting pace of a camel, when both halves of the saddle bag rise at the same time. *Ḳamra* is an ash gray female riding camel, whose forelegs are of a whiter hue than the hind legs. The Šarârât breed the best riding camels. When the clans wander into the inner desert or return, as a rule they all follow the same direction, so that the herds may pasture evenly along their routes, In the season of plenty, when the pastures grow again in a few weeks and the luxuriant perennials promise to yield abundantly, the regular movement in fixed directions ceases and the different clans move forward or backward according to the locality best suited to them by reason of the grazing land and water. Those going back are called *mežfin*. The lover's clan has moved backwards, the maiden's forwards. *Ḥajj* means kin, *ahl*. The lover, even if encamped far away, still approaches, *naṣa*, the camp of his sweetheart's kin, *naṣa' ḥajjeh* (or *naḥar ahleh*).

*Jâ mdaḥraǧ ḫuf li ʿala-š-šaʿejle*
*čarreb li al-heǧên beššâdi*
*al-ʿafw mâ-ḳšarč lejle*
*ḥaššejt ṣanâdîl al-fwâdi*
*w-ašči leč jâ ḥajje jâ dwejle*
*w-ašûf ḥajjâneč ḳaffaw ṛâdi.*

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the rear." This was repeated several times. At last she sighted her lover. He drove before him two camels, each of whom carried two large water bags made of camel's hide and holding about 150 liters each; on a third, less burdened, he sat himself. 831x 539x

"Give me some water," begged the girl.

"Thou hast met so many *rwa*. Did none of them offer water to thee? Then if thou didst not get a drink from them, thou wilt not get any from me!"

Then the girl pulled out the appetizing cake. The hungry lover looked at it longingly, but she threw it to a dog near by and said:

"I shall not drink from thee, thou wilt not eat from me any more!"

Jumping down from the camel the youth now poured out the water for her, but she refused. When he called on her in the evening, she drove him away and sang the following *heǧêni*:

1. *Ḥaṭwa-l-walad jebči low mâ teʿašša*
   *jeẓḥak w-low aṣbaḥ ʿala čabdeh az-zâd*
2. *w-lâ hazhazanneh mebʿadât al-maʿašša*
   *haḏâk alli jiẓher ṛajûb al-awlâd*
3. *lâ waʾ ḥasâjef nehdi alli tnašša*
   *jowm al-ǧehal w-arḥaṣt leh kill mâ-râd.*

1. Many a youth cries when he gets no supper,
   And laughs when filling his stomach from the food
   taken for the journey.
2. But he who is not disturbed when a she-camel carries
   him away from his supper,
   Shows himself to be a pearl among the youths.
3. Oh, woe is me! how do I regret that he has inhaled
   the fragrance of my breast,
   In a moment of heedlessness, when I permitted him
   all that he wished.

Verse 2. *Mebʿadât al-maʿašša*, making distant the place of supper, are female riding camels moving away with their riders from the home tents, where supper was sure to be had, and speeding into the desert, where it is never known when a hospitable camp may be reached. Even if the riders are provided with flour or wheat, they are always uncertain where 484 539x 831x

2:Musil .S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



[484] 539x 831x and when to prepare their supper. If a hostile troop or its traces are discovered, such a thing as cooking a meal is not to be thought of. 3. *Jowm al-ğehal* refers to those moments when, blinded by passion, one acts regardless of the consequences; such a person is called *ğâhel*.

*Unrequited and Thwarted Love*

*Jâ ḥmûd wa' 'âreẓni šâbi*
*ṭard al-hawa' ğizt ana minneh*
*akûd wazzâḥ an-nijâbi*
*haḏâk minni w-ana minneh.*

O Ḥmûd, alas, my gray hair is a hindrance to me.
Enough now in amorous contests;
Only she with the white teeth,
She is my love and I am hers.

*Mâ-bṛi 'aširi walad ḳowbân*
*miṯl as-slûḳi jeloḅbi le*
*jâ leḥjeten minḳa' aṣ-ṣîbân*
*w-al-ḳaml w-er'û ženâdîleh.*

I will have no lazy glutton for lover of mine,
Who would cling to me always like a *slûḳi*.
Oh, that chin beard of his, basin for nits
And lice; and only look at his big head!

*Ḳowbân* or *'efen* is a fat loafer who likes to eat and sleep but is no lover of raids. *Slûḳi* (or *sluḳi*) is a greyhound. [231] While other dogs are not allowed to enter the tent at all, the greyhound indulges himself both on the rugs and in the bed and will not stir from his master and mistress, eagerly waiting for a mouthful to be thrown to him.

*Šowḳi jâ 'uwejd aṣ-ṣam'a*
*wa' mžejjilen beš-šîḥa*
*hâḏi 'elûmak teğîni*
*w-allâh ani mustarîḥa*
*edd edd mâ tšûfak 'ejni*
*jâ hâreb 'ala-ṣ-ṣîḥa.*

Oh, that lover of mine! that little stalk of *ṣam'a*,
Ah! in *šîḥ* plants he hides at noon.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



The poet, Ṣaḳḳâr, a native of the settlement of al-Kubejsa, was a peddler among the branch of the Šammar tribe camping between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris. The chief Fâres of the reigning family Âl Ğarba' was his protector. The name of the chief's father was Ṣfûḳ, his mother's name 'Amša. Both father and son hated the Turkish strangers intensely on account of the wrongs they had to suffer from the governor at Mosul. In the poem cited above Ṣaḳḳâr praises himself and extols Fâres. The narrators were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 3. *Howza,* instead of *hezz,* shake or nod. The hoofs of some she-camels are covered with too fine a skin. When such an animal walks for any length of time on rocky roads, especially in volcanic regions strewn with sharp pieces of lava, the hoof skin becomes covered with callous spots or scars so that blood flows at every step. In speaking of a camel in this condition the Rwala use the verb *ḥafat,* meaning "she has become calloused or scarred, she walks barefoot." To save his animal from loss of blood, the rider cuts out from a tough camel hide pieces of the size of the hoof, and stitches them, *jirḳa'*, under the scarred hoof. The she-camel tries to rid herself of the uncomfortable sole by rubbing it against rocks and often cuts the stitches, which must be repaired at once, causing the rider much fatigue and delay (see my *The Northern Ḥeğâz,* New York, 1926, pp. 194-196). 4. Al-Heri and aṣ-Ṣwâb are valleys heading in the northeastern part of the desert of al-Ḥamâd. 5. *'Ûd al-leğâwi* is a stick made from an almond shoot. 7. Ṣalfîẓ is a son of Fâres. *'Awḳ ar-rudûm* is a poetical term. *Rudûm* here signifies she-camels so fat that they can hardly move. 9. Fâres lived in perpetual discord with the Turkish Government, refusing to recognize its claims, crushing them as would a millwheel. 11. Ḏijâb eben Ṛânem was famous for his bravery, *farse,* generosity, *karam,* and judgment, *'aḳel.* These three qualities gained for him the title *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa,* meaning "famous for his great sagacity," or, possibly, "gentleman." 12. A rider in the desert at night cannot guide himself by stars which change their place. The pole star, being almost stationary, is the traveler's safest guide. 14. *Ṣwâže'* are meteors which crush everything upon which they fall.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



442 437 *mu'azzeb*, in so far as he protects him as his guest but does not board him. The Bedouins now bring their camels to his white tents, *ḫijâm*, and as a rule sell them for cash. Only when the agent has brought arms and ammunition from al-Kwejt or al-'Ażêr for sale, will they exchange their animals for these articles. On the sale of every camel the prince or the chief gets one-half or one *meğidijje* ($0.45 or 0.90). The purchased animal is then branded with the 'Aḳejli mark and left to graze in the herd with the others. For his herdsmen the 'Aḳejli hires youths from the tribe where he is buying at the time. Many herdsmen accompany the agent's herds as far as Egypt and on their return tell of the wonderful things they have seen or learned on their trip. If the 'Aḳejli buys camels in the inner desert, he remains with the purchased herds for many weeks, or even months, with the same tribe, waiting until it moves to the settled territory, generally toward the end of June. If he buys from tribes who never leave the inner desert he drives the herds he has bought from tribe to tribe, until he comes to some clan of a tribe which leaves as a rule in May or June for the tilled territory in order to supply itself there for its sojourn in the desert. On reaching the border of the desert, the 'Aḳejli proceeds to the nearest large town where camel markets are held. If he can sell his animals there advantageously, he will do so and return to the tribe from which he came and buy camels again; but should he think that he could do better in Egypt, he will buy everything he can from other speculators whom he happens to find in the town and then journey on to Egypt.

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442 676 The herds belonging to the 'Aḳejl may be captured by strange raiders, just as the herds of members of the tribe with whom he happens to be migrating, and for that reason the 'Aḳejl have in every large clan their brother, *aḫ*, to whom they pay, *jeḫîh*, from four to five Turkish pounds ($18 to 22.50), one good riding camel, and two or three good cloaks annually. This brother is obliged to restore to them every camel stolen by a member of his clan. Among the Rwala and the Weld 'Ali the 'Aḳejl have brothers in the following kins: Eben Mašhûr, Eben Der'ân, Eben Ğandal, Eben Mğejd, Eben Me'ğel, and Eben Ḥamad al-Wlêd'i or al-Wahbi (of the Weld 'Ali, also called the Beni Wahab). If the Rwala bring home from one of their raids camels bearing the 'Aḳejl brand and there is no 'Aḳejli camping with them, the *aḫ* drives these

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



539k Verse 2. All were big with young, wherefore they were followed by their owners, who were unwilling to sell them abroad. The animals were to return to their herds so as to bring the owners further profit after bearing. *Hom jetabârû* means "they follow" or "they are coming after us." *Teḳel*, [231] instead of the correct *teḳûl*, "thou mightest say." 3. A hard, therefore erect, neck, broad breast, arched ribs, and bulging fleshy shoulders are considered good qualities in a camel. 4. *Muwaffeḳin al-ḫejr*, has the same meaning as *šâjefin al-ḫejr*, perceiving luck. *Ṣu'lû* for *waṣṣelû* or *ṣelû*, "Make to reach" or "Bring!" *Ṛowš*, or *'ejâl*, indicates youths of eighteen to twenty [H 15] years, also heroes gallant in war. 5. *Ṣanḍûḳ* is a small box, case, or chest, a rare thing among the Rwala. The prince alone has one 50 centimeters long, 30 wide, and 20 high, in which he keeps his papers and money. As the common Bedouin thinks that every box is filled with gold, the traveler must wrap his cases containing scientific instruments in sacks, lest they arouse a desire for booty. The youths are to guard our poet's message like a treasure box. *Fetijje* is a she-camel from six to ten years old; the milk of such *fetât* is said to taste the best. 6. *Rajjeẓû*, *waẓẓefû*, *waẓfû* or *ta'awwaḳû*, mean "Halt!" [276] "Stop!" or "Wait!" *Ṛaljûn* is a tobacco pipe with a long stem; among the Rwala it is used only by women. *Ḥeber* is [212] a dry powder made from gallnuts and green vitriol which is put into an inkpot and mixed with water. 7. *"Ḥûfû 'alejhen"* [484] shouts the caravan leader to his comrades when the saddled camels have risen with their loads; thus he orders them to look around the camping place to see if anything has been forgotten, to examine whether the burdens are placed on the camels so as not to overbalance or gall the animals and whether the straps are tight, the saddles do not lean to one side, etc. *Ḳarâmîš al-ḫala* is the outfit needed in the desert, such as waterproof bags filled with water, flour, dry locusts, matches, and the like. Many a rider would take all kinds of supplies when going to the desert, but if he has to leave in a hurry, he has to be satisfied with what is just handy or ready, *wâlmât*. 8. The road from al-Ǧowf to the Ḥawrân leads almost directly northwest; the North Star is therefore against the rider's right shoulder. *An-na'âjem saba'a* are the seven principal stars of the Great Bear. 12. Al-Âjde is a division of the Weld 'Ali, famous for its wealth, as are also the Âl Sa'dûn, the house of the head chief of the Muntifeḳ tribe.

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*Al-bel eḥmû laha-l-bir*
*samnat w-ṭâlat ḏerâha*
*wa' ḳorob ḥajjen tenaṣṣâh*
*wa' ba'ad ḥajjen warâha.*

Go, seize the well for camels!
Their humps have become fat and have grown high.
Ah, how near the kin to which they hasten!
Ah, how far the kin they have left behind!

Whenever the Bedouins intend to encamp at a large watering place consisting of many wells, their youths ride ahead of the moving tribe on horseback or on camels and each seizes some of the known wells to make sure of water for his herds. Having seized a well, he unsaddles his animal, sits down by the saddle, and waits for the arrival of the tribe. At its approach he beckons to his own people to pitch the tent where he is sitting. If the spot is not suitable, the tent is put up farther away, but the youth watches the well till all the Bedouins are encamped and everybody knows to whom each of the wells belongs. As the water is not equally divided among all the wells, the owners of smaller herds to whom no well has been allotted ask their happier fellow tribesmen for leave to water from theirs. [484 312]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ḏelûli jâ ša'êle* | O thou, my dark ashen-gray riding camel, |
| *ḏelûl eben 'îd* | Camel from the Eben 'Îd breed, |
| *žirbeti šowšelijje* | Know that my water pouch is but small |
| *w-al-mrawa ba'îd.* | And the watering place distant. |

The rider urges his camel to keep up her speed. *Žirbe šowšelijje* is a leather water pouch holding no more than six liters.

*Al-heǧen jâ ḫaj jâ ramṭân*
*mâ jenlaḥež ǧezâhenne*
*ams az-ẓaḥa bidjâr al-ḳowmân*
*w-al-jowm bidjâr ahalhenne.*

For the riding camels, O Ramṭân, thou little brother of
Naught can be found that would reward them. [mine,
Yesterday when dew evaporated they were still in hostile
And today they are in the land of their owners. [land

*Mâ jenlaḥež ǧezâhenne*, no reward will be found for them. When a man does a kind act for another, the recipient acknow- 000

# CHAPTER XVIII

## HOSPITALITY

### SALUTATIONS

A salutation, if returned, is a guarantee of safety in the desert, *as-salâm salâme*. If a stranger travels unaccompanied by a *ḫawi* through the territory of a tribe unknown to him and salutes someone—be it only a little girl—and is saluted in return, he may be reasonably certain that he will be neither attacked nor robbed, for even a little girl with all her kin will protect him. Should the fellow tribesmen of the girl attack and rob him, *mâḫûḏ*, he has only to ask the help of her kinsfolk, who must take his part. The girl is the best witness: "A traveler saluted me at such and such a place, of about such and such an age, dressed thus and so, riding on a she-camel," of which she also gives a description. Frequently even an enemy saves himself in this manner when hotly pursued. Realizing that he cannot escape, he suddenly changes his course, returns by a roundabout way to the camp of his pursuers, salutes a child, and, taking its hand, allows himself to be led to the tent of the parents. The adult Bedouins, being more cautious, do not answer at once when saluted by a man they do not know. Especially if two or three are riding together and approach a camp at night, the guard replies to their salute thus:

"Ye are outlawed; I shall not return your salutation; *tarâkom mwaṣṣedîn w-lâ ʿalejkom radd as-salâm*." For an outlawed one, *mwaṣṣed*, is treated like an enemy to whom a salutation is of no use whatever.

The salutation of the traveling Bedouins consists of many sayings, questions, and answers.

The shortest one is: "Be strong [So-and-So]! *ḳawwi* [*flân*]."

The saluted person replies to this: "Welcome to us! *jâ hala*."

The traveler then asks: "How art thou? *čejf ent*," and is answered: "May Allâh salute thee! *allâh jesallimk*."

"I wish success to thee, *al-ʿawâfi*."

576 "May Allâh grant success to thee! *allâh je'âfik.*"
609 "How is thy health? *čejf ḥâlak.*"
484 "May Allâh preserve thy health! *allâh jesallem ḥâlak.*"
"How are thy little sons? *čejf 'ejâlak.*"

"They are well. May Allâh grant success to thee and preserve all that thou lovest! *bel-'âfi allâh je'âfik w-jesallem râlik.*"

The ordinary part of a salutation being exhausted by the foregoing, more particular questions, which are of great importance in the desert, may be asked:

"Whither bound? *wên ent.*" "Where dost thou come from? *min ên ǧît.*" "From where dost thou bless us? *min ên ḥajjît.*" "Tell us some news of the territory thou hast crossed, *'allemna b'ulûmaha.*" "Give us the reports! *hât al-'ulûm.*"

[203] It takes some time to tell of the raids undertaken and the booty obtained, of pastures, watering places, etc., as these accounts, *'ulûm*, in the desert take the place of newspapers and the welfare of the traveler or even of the whole clan often depends on them. If both the saluting men are riding on camels, they halt and, letting their animals graze at will, press their crossed hands against the front saddle knob, sink their heads, converse, and listen. If on foot, they squat on their heels, support themselves by their staves, and talk. At last one of them puts the question:

"Thou didst not mention to us thy last hosts, *mâ ḏakart lena al-ma'âzîb.*"

"They camp at such and such a place. Ye may be there before evening, *terawweḥûnahom.*" "They camp not far from your face," or "on your right (or left) hand."

If the travelers ride close by a camp, there is always someone there who goes out to stop them and learn what they know, so that he can relate it in the chief's tent to the [574] others. A traveling Bedouin will hardly ever conceal the position of his late hosts' camp, but women gathering dry fuel or hay almost always keep the whereabouts of their own camp secret and try to direct the traveler to some other camp. They fear lest the unknown man be a spy of the enemy or a robber, and, even if he is not, they do not care for a guest, who naturally adds to their work. At the same time the inquisitiveness of their sex and the desire to bring news home with them, impels them to call the traveler back on the pretext of pointing out the road better. The rider sits in his

2: Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



saddle, the woman stands sideways to him, covering her nose with her left hand, and explains but soon begins to put questions, the answering of which keeps the rider busy.

If a traveler rides close by the herds, the herdsmen run to him from all sides, salute, ask questions, and finally beg: "Would you not give a drink to a thirsty one? *mâ teshûn al-'aṭšân.*"

As a rule, the travelers say they have no water at all. "We have no water, *mâ 'endana ma'*," which means that they will not be delayed. As the water is laden on a camel, it would be necessary first to stop her, to open the bag, pour the water into a pannikin, tie the bag up again, start the camel going, and make sure that the water is not dripping from the bag. Many a thirsty man hardly waits for an answer, but springs to the camel carrying the water, partly opens the bag, drinks, and keeps leaping after the moving animal, with water running down his chin. Having drunk his fill, he holds the bag with his left hand and with his right tries to stop the animal, so that he can tie the bag as it was. The camel, murmuring, resists, the water flows out, and the traveler becomes angry at the loss of water which was to last him for several days. For this reason water is generally refused to the herdsmen unless they bring along fresh camel milk; in this case they are given water in exchange. More pity is shown by the mounted traveler to one on foot. To such he always gives a drink if the next watering place or camp is more than half a day distant.

## TRAVELERS' DITTIES

Travelers amuse themselves with the singing of ditties, *tafwîh*, a word which means literally to fill with passion, to cry at the top of one's voice. They are sung in a high voice, *rana' b'âli ḥesseh*. One of the riders begins to sing, and as soon as he finishes the first half of the verse it is repeated by the second rider or the whole troop, the first continuing in the meantime to sing the second half of the verse. When he has finished, he intones the first half of the second verse, his comrades keeping silent the while and joining in only when it is complete. In this manner a single double verse is often repeated for a half an hour or even longer.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

[Travelers' Diaries]



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*Jâ râčeb al-ḥamra'* O thou who ridest a bay!
*jâ ṣâreb an-nijje* Thou comest as if sent for;
*ekhar w-'allemni* Stop now and tell me thy news,
*elja 'âd lak nijje.* If thou wishest, of course.

*Bên al-bišri w-as-suḫne*
*jâ ṭejr hât 'elûmah*
*jiḏkar 'aširi waǧa'ân*
*w-min al-baṭa mâ-lûmah.*

Betwixt al-Bišri and as-Suḫne,
O falcon! give me news of her.
My sweetheart is ill, I hear,
For the delay, therefore, I blame her not.

*Bêni w-bên al-ṛâli*
*sinǧâr miṯl al-ṛejme*
*hâḏa mrâḥ al-ṛâli*
*w-hâḏa manâm ṭu'ejme.*

Between me and my sweetheart
Sinǧâr is rising like a cloud.
This is the spot where at night my sweetheart's flock rested,
And this is the spot where Ṭu'ejme slept.

*Jâ-hla-l-ešedde*
*jâ mwaffeḳîn al-ḫejr*
*allâh jeruddeh*
*ma'kom šerîč ar-rûḥ.*

O ye camel riders!
O ye, who always meet with success!
May Allâh turn evil from you,
For my soul's comrade is among you.

A lover salutes the camel riders who accompany the moving clan of his sweetheart.

*Mâ-'ṭi ḏelûli*
*low 'arraẓow li-š-šowḳ*
*nabṛi neḥûli*
*low ḥâlat al-ṛulmân.*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



My she-camel I shall not yield
Even if they offer my sweetheart for it.
We are resolved to die from exhaustion,
Should our heroes not do as was agreed.

The singer will not yield his she-camel to the enemy even if offered in exchange his sweetheart, who has been refused to him by her kinsfolk. Without booty he will not return. Should he and his fellow travelers not be met at the appointed place by their companions bringing food and water, they will not ask these of their enemies but will try to return home with the captured camels across the desert.

*Ḥasabt al-ḳoṛat* [sic] *teṭawwel w-bejti ṭanib lebejtah*
*lejteni čefijjet lešowki kill mâ-ltaṭam ḥabbejtah.*

I thought the friendship would last longer and my tent
be pitched beside hers.
O that I were my beloved's kerchief, for whenever she
covered her chin with it I should kiss her.

## RECEPTION OF THE TRAVELER

When the traveler wants to enter a tent as a guest, as a rule he approaches from the rear, stopping his camel by the side of the men's quarters. The inhabitants of the tents he is passing examine him at leisure, well knowing that he is not coming to them, as then he would not ride along the fronts of their tents. At the same time the people in the tents whose backs are turned to the rider take stock of him through every gap, women as well as men. They all are interested to learn who he is and where he will dismount. But when he is near the end of the camp, men come out running from many tents, seize his animal by the rein, and try to lead it to their tents, quarreling among themselves.

One shouts: "May I lose my right hand if thou wilt not dismount at my tent! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min jimnâi.*"

A second: "May I lose my head! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min râsi.*"

A third: "May I lose the faculty of begetting! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min maḥzemi.*"

Another: "May I lose my wife!" or "May I lose my gentility! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min al-mruwwa.*"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4



15. Before your faces good fortune will bring success to all,
With help of the angels and of Him who built his heaven.
16. O chief, both warriors and clans migrating follow thee,
And the youths give the enemy that drink for which
he had much craved.
17. O chief, thou giver of she-camels with long reins,
Thou givest also long-paced fearless mares.
18. Ah, [this poem] should be sung at all gatherings!
Ah, they will have to ask us how it was rewarded.
19. Then I shall say: "From Eben Ša'lân came to me
A sorrel she-camel with bulging back and enduring of gait."
20. He who dwells far from his camp, seeks, when seized
by longing,
[To hasten home as fast] as an ostrich which has sighted
him who fired the shot.
21. Even if I slept, the eyes' sleep, O chief, will not bring rest,
For, O chief, every eye weeps for its own sorrow!

This poem was composed by Miz'el aḫu Za'êla from the despised Šlejb tribe and recited to me by the poet. He adapted his pronunciation to that of the Rwala, whose dialect he had perfectly mastered.

Verse 1. Among the Rwala there is no morning call to prayers, but the poet refers to it just as he used words which are not colloquial. The Muntifeš carry a flag on all their raids, and the members of the tribes allied with them do the same. 2. Al-Markab is sacred to all the Rwala. Should they lose it once only, should it be captured by the enemy, they would not be allowed to procure a new one, the emblem of their unity would be lost, and they would think that Allâh had deserted them. 3. *Al-mâṭeli* is a rifle constructed after the Martini model. *Ješda*, or *ješbah*: he resembles. 4. By *aš-šejḫ nâf* is meant here Prince an-Nûri, who excelled all by his bravery and prudence. 5. *Tefâfiš* are sharpshooters, marksmen; *tefaka*, a rifle. 6. *Aṣ'ân* are the camels which carry the tents, clothing, household goods, women, and children of a migrating clan. One of the principal tasks of a chief is to ensure safety during migration, as it is then that the tribe is in greatest danger, for then the camels are most easily frightened. The main body of the warriors ride, as a rule, at the head of the clan, while smaller troops are interspersed among the herds of camels grazing along the way. When the

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484 221 539² 726² enemy is sighted, the main troop advances to meet them. If the enemy is stronger, they are usually scattered, thus leaving the women and the laden camels without protection. The enemy then lead away the camels and search for what is most valuable, thus uncovering what the fair women have concealed. This was prevented by an-Nûri, who remained at the side of the deserted women. 7. *Lejṯ ṣarmân*, an angry, irritated lion, is another poetical expression. Like a bloodthirsty wolf, *ḏîb aṣ-ṣawâri*, did an-Nûri crush the attacking enemy, who were unable to resist him. 8. *Hafat* is said of a mare either utterly exhausted or with a dislocated foot which hinders her moving. 9. The fight took place between al-Ḥšejbi and Fejḥân, therefore the wolves there were howling with joy at the feast prepared for them. A hyena is called *'arǧa'*, lame, because it cannot run fast or for very long. 10. *Afṭar bkowsénen* means that he breakfasted on two fights, because the Rwala with an-Nûri at their head first repulsed at Fejḥân the raid made on them by Ṭâmer, the son of Sa'dûn, then attacked Eben Meglâd, a protégé of Sa'dûn, near al-Êweg northwest of Line, and finally defeated Sa'dûn himself in the encounters at al-Ḥšejbi and al-Mḥaṭa. 11. *Al-ḫejl emtellât* are mares, which, being too exhausted to run any farther, are left behind. *Al-ḫalîb elja ṯjaḍḍat ḥṭûha*, long-tailed mares whose pace grew slow, are mares with long tail hair and with their legs hurt in the fight; they are too slow to avoid the blows. 12. *Jaḥḍi* or *ja'ṭi:* he distributes gifts. Nawwâf does not keep the booty himself but distributes it among those whom he likes. 13. *Ṣḥûn* are large trays on which meat is set before the guests. Both Prince an-Nûri and his son Nawwâf entertain guests continually; meat is always being cooked, and therefore their trays are full of fat drops resembling [643] drops of dew. 14. The chiefs an-Nûri and Nawwâf are descended from a house which has given to the Rwala from ancient times chiefs and conquerors of riders. 15. *Miḥân* signifies success, favorable result. *Mulûk*, for *malâjika*, angels. *Bǧâh*, or *b'awne:* with the help, under the protection of. 17. *Koḥûm* is a horse afraid of nothing. 18. *Wa' ṣejjûr* is a poetical term for *lâ budd*, absolutely certain, necessary. 19. *Nâbi ḳarûḥa* is a fat camel whose hump resembles a bulging knoll, a cone. 20. The poet longs for a present so that he can return to his Šejb soon. *Tafzîz rabda* is the fastest gait of an ostrich, during which it flaps its wings. The bird runs in this manner